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## RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS: PROBLEMS IN EARLY WESTERN HISTORY

The publication in 1885 of the journal of Pierre-Esprit Radisson, a French explorer of the middle part of the seventeenth century, gave students of western history several hard problems to solve, and the process of solution is not yet finished. The questions raised were as important as they were interesting; for, among other things, the discovery of the upper Mississippi River was involved. Radisson clearly claims that honor for himself and his brother-in-law and constant companion, Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, he asserting that they went far down that river upon their first western voyage, which, if it took place at all, must have taken place nearly twenty years before the famous journey of Joliet and Marquette in 1673.

Radisson's claim to the honor of the discovery of the upper Mississippi River has been passed upon and approved by very respectable authority,<sup>3</sup> and yet it seems destined to go the way of some of Hennepin's stories, of La Hontan's fables, and of Margry's bubble.

In his account of his western voyages Radisson rarely gives the date of the month, and in not a single instance does he record the year in an exact manner. By his neglect in this respect he has caused no end of trouble and confusion. For instance, Benja-

- ¹ Published by the Prince Society of Boston and edited by Gideon D. Scull of London. Radisson's narratives of his earlier experiences and western explorations, written in 1665, after ill-treatment by the French had driven him to seek patronage in England, were in the possession of Charles II.'s secretary of the admiralty, Samuel Pepys, whose diary is familiar to every lover of quaint literature. Most of the Pepys manuscripts became scattered, some were destroyed, but Radisson's narratives of his first four voyages were rescued by collectors and are now in the Bodleian Library. His Hudson Bay narratives are in the British Museum.
- <sup>2</sup> A native probably of Touraine, born about 1621, who settled in New France in early youth. His first wife was a daughter of the pilot Abraham, after whom the Plains of Abraham are named. She was a goddaughter of the great Champlain, and a name-sake—Hélène—of Champlain's girl-wife. She died in 1651, leaving a son, also named Medard, who figured, like his father, in the history of Hudson Bay. In 1653 Groseilliers married Radisson's sister Margaret. She, as well as his first wife, was a widow when he married her.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Story of Wisconsin, R. G. Thwaites; Wisconsin Hist. Coll., XI. 66; S. S. Hebberd, Wisconsin under French Dominion; Sulte, History of the French Canadians.

min Sulte,¹ the French-Canadian historian, is of the opinion that the first voyage of Radisson and Groseilliers is identical with that of the two nameless Frenchmen mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1656, who returned to New France in that year after an absence of two years, having penetrated beyond Lake Michigan. Other writers, notably N. E. Dionne,² the learned librarian of the legislature of the province of Quebec, declare that the first voyage west took place between 1658 and 1660. Dionne places the second western voyage between 1661 and 1663, and this view is generally accepted by those who believe that the first voyage terminated in 1660. Sulte, on the other hand, states that the second western journey came to an end in 1660, and the late Dr. Edward D. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota,³ assigns the same date for the termination of Radisson and Groseilliers' Lake Superior voyage, which was their second voyage.

That there should be any question as to the time when the second voyage ended is a matter of some surprise. It is convenient, for the purpose of this article, to consider this voyage first.

For two hundred years the identity of the two daring Frenchmen, mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1660, who arrived at Quebec in August of that year, with three hundred Algonquins paddling sixty canoes laden with furs, was a mystery. These two Frenchmen, according to the Relations, had spent the previous winter upon the shores of Lake Superior; had found at six days' journey toward the southwest from that lake the remnants of the Petuns, a Huron tribe whom the persecutions of the Iroquois had before that time driven westward even of the Mississippi River; these two Frenchmen had baptized children dying of disease and famine; had made several excursions to neighboring tribes, and had visited the Nadouessioux, a Dakota nation, among whom they saw women with their noses cut off and with a round piece of scalp torn off the tops of their heads—the punishment for adultery. The two intrepid explorers, when they returned to the St. Lawrence settlements, told the Jesuits how numerous the Sioux were, and how these savages covered their huts with furs or made themselves dwellings of clay. The Relations also quote the two Frenchmen as saying that the Sioux, being in a woodless country, made fire with mineral coal.

<sup>1</sup> History of the French Canadians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chouart et Radisson, in Memoirs of the Royal Society of Canada, 1893 and 1894.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Discovery along the Great Lakes, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, edited by Justin Winsor.

The Journal of the Jesuits for 1660 supplies the name of one of these two voyageurs, the following passage being found in it: "On the 17th [August] Monseigneur of Petræ [Laval, who afterwards became the first bishop of Quebec] left for his visit. . . . arrived at Montreal on the 21st, . . . where the Ottawas had arrived on the 19th. They were in number three hundred. Grosillères was in their company, who had gone to them the year They had departed from Lake Superior with one hundred canoes; forty turned back, and sixty arrived, loaded with peltry to the value of 200,000 livres. At Montreal they left to the value of 50,000 livres, and brought the rest to Three Rivers. They come in twenty-six days, but are two months in going back. Des Grosillers wintered with the Bœuf tribe, who were about four thousand, and belonged to the sedentary Nadoueseronons. The Father Menar, the Father Albanel, and six other Frenchmen went back with them." Father Albanel did not go very far, being abandoned by the Indians before he had really gone beyond the French settlements, but Father Menard went on to the Lake Superior country and to his death in the wilds of northwestern Wisconsin.

Des Groseilliers had been in the employ of the Jesuits, and he was therefore very well known to them; besides, he was considerably older than Radisson was, and would naturally be looked upon as the leader of the expedition, as he probably was in fact; and very likely it is for these reasons that he only is mentioned in the Journal of the Jesuits. The Jesuit Relations show that there were two voyageurs in the party which returned to Quebec from Lake Superior in August, 1660; the Journal of the Jesuits shows that one of these was Groseilliers, and Radisson himself states that he was the other.

In the main Radisson's account tallies very well with the Jesnit Relations and with the Journal of the Jesnits. He relates that when he and Groseilliers arrived at Chequamegon Bay, on Lake Superior, the Hurons with whom they had gone west stated that the place where their tribe had taken refuge was five great days' journey inland. The Relations state that the voyageurs had found the Hurons at six days' journey toward the southwest from Lake Superior. Radisson and Groseilliers soon went to the Huron village, and with the Hurons they spent the following winter, during which hundreds of Indians — many Ottawas had joined them in the meantime — died of famine. The Relations, it will be remembered, mention Indian children who died of disease and famine. Later the voyageurs and their Indian companions wandered into the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota and were soon

visited by "ambassadors" of the Nadoneseronons (Nadouessioux, Nation of the Bœuf), who, among other things, wept upon the heads of the two Frenchmen "untill we weare wetted by their tears,"—something which the Sioux were wont to do, as early explorers and historians abundantly testify. Radisson says that he and Groseilliers afterwards visited the Nation of the Bœuf, finding a town where there were great cabins covered with skins and mats; where, in punishment for adultery, noses were cut off, and often the scalp at the crown, and where, there being no wood, moss was used for making fires.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it would not be easy to find three distinct accounts of one expedition into a strange country that tallied more closely than do the accounts of that voyage to Lake Superior which we find in the *Jesuit Relations*, the *Journal of the Jesuits*, and Radisson's *Journal*. The return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their second trip, the one to Lake Superior, in August, 1660, is thus fully proven.<sup>1</sup>

This was the last journey that Radisson claims to have made to the west. His own journal furnishes evidence that the voyage terminated in August, 1660. In speaking of the journey homeward he states that they passed the Long Sault, on the Ottawa River, shortly after the defeat and death of Dollard and his band of heroes. That tragedy occurred on May 21, 1660. Furthermore, in describing the westward part of this voyage, Radisson draws a very vivid picture of the Grand Portal, near Munissing, on the south shore of Lake Superior, and declares that he was the first Christian that ever saw it. Had his voyage to the head of Lake Superior taken place after 1660, Radisson would not have been the first Christian to see the Grand Portal, for Father Menard passed it 2 in the fall of 1660 before he reached Keweenaw Bay.

Right here it may not be out of place to speak of a widespread error that has been made regarding Radisson and Groseilliers and Father Menard. In several standard historical works <sup>3</sup> it is stated that Father Menard accompanied Radisson and Groseilliers on their second westward trip. The mistake has been made so often, and by such excellent writers, that it is generally believed. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is substantially the view taken of the question by the Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O.S.F., the learned author of *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette*, *Menard, and Allouez in the Lake Superior Region*. There is not living any better authority on early Northwestern history. This reverend gentleman, by the way, absolutely repudiates Radisson's third voyage, pronouncing it a fabrication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jesuit Relations, 1664.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dr. Neill's *Discovery along the Great Lakes*, already quoted, and *From Cartier to Frontenac*, by Justin Winsor.

that it is an error is plain. The cause of the error is equally plain. It will be noticed that in the part of the Journal of the Jesuits which has just been quoted it is stated that "Father Menar . . . "Them" means the Ottawas, not Growent back with them." seilliers and his companion, who, according to Radisson himself, never went west after the voyage which ended in 1660. understanding of the pronoun "them" and a consequent belief that Radisson and Groseilliers went west again are responsible for the erroneous statement that they went west again in 1660 and were accompanied by Father Menard. Some writers who have fallen into this mistake contend that the Journal of the Jesuits is chronicling the return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their first voyage, but they take this position in the face of the fact that Radisson himself says that they rested a year after the first voyage to the west, and that another entry in the Journal of the Jesuits shows that Groseilliers was in Quebec in May, 1662, at which time these writers contend that he was in the Lake Superior country.

Radisson says that the second western voyage took two years. Passing Sault Ste. Marie and an island to which they gave the name of Four Beggars, as well as a river, apparently Little Iron River, they skirted the south shore of Lake Superior, passing the Pictured Rocks and the Huron islands. They camped at the mouth of Huron River, portaged across Keweenaw point and finally reached Chequamegon Bay, Wisconsin, where they built a little fort—the first building erected by white men on Lake Superior and dwelt therein while their Huron companions went to visit their families and countrymen. They themselves visited the Huron tribe afterward, and the following spring, after visiting the Nadouessioux, Radisson says that in company with some Christinos (who, under the name of Crees, are still found north of the lake region, in British America), they went to the Bay of the North, as he calls Hudson Bay. On the shore, probably of James Bay, they saw a barrack which had been built by white men. The Indians of that region told them of the presence of white men in those waters at a previous time. Our explorers returned by the way by which they had come, except that they revisited a fort which "the nations of the north" had built in Minnesota, west of Lake Superior, when the two explorers had been there nearly a year before. and at the fort they spent the latter part of the second winter. They started home in the spring.

The Journal of the Jesuits for 1660 states that it was "the year before" that Groseilliers joined the Ottawas with whom he returned to Quebec in August of that year. Does this necessarily

mean, as some writers, Sulte among the number, tacitly contend, that Radisson and Groseilliers were absent on this voyage only one year? The statement in the Journal of the Jesuits is certainly vague, and it has been found,1 moreover, that Pierre-Esprit Radisson was godfather to Marguerite, daughter of Medard Chouart (Groseilliers) on April 15, 1659, Father Menard, who was then stationed at Three Rivers, performing the ceremony of baptism. But Dionne, the principal merit of whose work — the most recent one on the subject—is the genealogical research that it shows, asserts that there were at Three Rivers two men named Pierre-Esprit Radisson, one of them our voyageur and the other probably his uncle. The elder Pierre-Esprit Radisson, according to Dionne, was the father of Elizabeth Radisson, who has been put down by some writers as the daughter of our explorer and by others as his sister. She married Claude Jutras. It was the elder Pierre-Esprit Radisson, not our voyageur, that Madeleine Henault married, if Dionne be correct.

Radisson's Journal seems to bear out the position taken by Dionne. He mentions his parents at Three Rivers, and his sisters, but does not mention having a wife in New France. Besides, Dionne says that Sébastien-Hayet Radisson, our voyageur's father, lived at St. Malo, in Brittany, before coming to New France, whereas the Pierre-Esprit Radisson who married Madeleine Henault belonged to a parish in Paris before settling in New France. As Radisson was very young when Three Rivers became his home, it is reasonable to suppose that his parish and his father's parish in France were identical; and if they were, then there must have been two men named Pierre-Esprit Radisson at Three Rivers, and the elder may have been the godfather of Chouart's child in April, 1659.

On the whole, therefore, it cannot be said that there is sufficient ground for rejecting Radisson's statement that this voyage to the Lake Superior country took two years, and that during it he and Groseilliers visited the waters of Hudson Bay. There is contemporary authority for this position. Noël Jérémie, in his Hudson Bay Relation, states that Groseilliers not only penetrated to Hudson Bay, but to Manitoba as well. That he did go to Hudson Bay from Lake Superior is indicated by the fact that Pigeon River, near Grand Portage, on the north shore of Lake Superior, bore his name on several of the early maps.<sup>2</sup> It was the first time that white men reached Hudson Bay by an inland route.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sulte, History of the French Canadians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Including Franquelin's, 1688.

It would be well for the memory of Pierre-Esprit Radisson if his narrative of his first voyage west were as unimpeachable as that of his second voyage west—the last one. The claim that he and Groseilliers were the first white men to reach the upper Mississippi River is based upon his account of his first voyage. This voyage took three years and two months, according to Radisson, and if it took place at all, it must have been at a period previous to the journey to the Lake Superior country, from which Radisson and Groseilliers returned in August, 1660. Radisson says in several different ways that it preceded the Lake Superior and Hudson Bay voyage; and besides, we know that the two men were otherwise engaged after 1660.

The date generally given for Radisson's arrival in New France is May 24, 1651. Groseilliers had preceded him at least ten years. The year after Radisson's arrival in New France, as he himself states, he was captured by the Mohawks while he was hunting in the vicinity of Three Rivers, and his captors took him to their village, where he was adopted by an aged chieftain. Not long afterwards he attempted to escape, he and an Algonquin Indian killing three Mohawks with whom they were hunting, but he was recaptured and subjected to excruciating torture. His Indian parents had difficulty in saving his life. In October, 1653, he fled to the Dutch at Albany, at that time called Fort Orange. that place he met a French Jesuit whom the Iroquois had captured, and he says that the Jesuit assisted him. Père Poncet, in his own Relation, states that he was captured by the Mohawks in August, 1653; that shortly afterwards he was delivered, and that while at Fort Orange "a young man taken at Three Rivers by the Iroquois and ransomed by the Hollanders" called upon him and said that he would go to confession the next day. Thus Père Poncet not only corroborates what Radisson says about his escape from captivity in the Mohawk country, which he calls his first voyage, but he fixes the time of that captivity. From Albany Radisson went to Manhattan, now New York, whence he sailed for Holland, thence going to France. He returned to Three Rivers in May, 1654.

The next voyage that he describes, likewise an individual experience, he made as a member of the little band of Frenchmen which went to the Onondaga country to guard the Jesuits Paul Ragueneau and François Duperon. He describes the manner in which the wonderful escape of the garrison was planned and effected after it became known that the Iroquois were plotting

to kill all, and he distinctly states that he went back to the French settlements with the other colonists to the Onondaga country. This party returned in April, 1658. If Radisson's account of the voyage to Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, from which they returned in August, 1660, be correct, the two men must have started west within two or three months after Radisson's return from the Onondaga country in the early spring of 1658.

What, in view of these facts, becomes of Radisson's narrative of the first western voyage, the one during which they reached the upper Mississippi River? He asserts that this voyage took place between the mission to the Onondagas and the voyage to Lake Superior, but we have seen that the voyage to Lake Superior, according to Radisson's own statement, corroborated by the Jesuit *Relations* and the *Fournal of the Fesuits*, followed closely upon the heels of Radisson's return from the Onondaga country. Radisson's third voyage—the first one to the west—did not take place when he says that it did, and that it ever took place may well be doubted. Radisson has impeached his own testimony.

Another interesting question arises: Were Radisson and Groseilliers the two nameless Frenchmen, mentioned in the *Fesuit Relations* of 1656, who went west beyond Lake Michigan, and visited the Maskouten Indians on the upper Fox River, Wisconsin, between 1654 and 1656?

It is a singular fact that Radisson's whereabouts during that period are unaccounted for. There is a blank in the record of his life between May, 1654, when he returned from his captivity among the Mohawks, and early in 1657, when he says that he went to the Onondaga country. It is also a singular fact that the whereabouts of Groseilliers cannot be accounted for from February, 1654, when, according to Sulte, he was sergeant-major of the garrison at Three Rivers, to September 29, 1656, when he was again at Three Rivers.

When Radisson returned from France early in the spring or 1654, he found that Groseilliers had married his sister Margaret the summer before. The two men at once formed that mutual friendship which is perhaps the brightest spot in their checkered careers. It is possible that they resolved upon a voyage of discovery to the far west and that they are the two nameless Frenchmen of whom the *Fesuit Relations* of 1656 speak. Sulte is quite confident that such is the case, but the question is most complicated.

The Relations state that the two nameless Frenchmen left

Quebec on August 6, 1654, in company with a troop of Ottawas. Radisson says that he and Groseilliers left about the middle of June (no year given), but he contradicts his own statement as to the time of the year at which they left when he says that they picked blackberries "not full ripe" before they reached Lake Nipissing, which they must have reached by July I if they left in the middle of June. Blackberries ripen in the upper lake country about September I. The two nameless Frenchmen, whose journey began on August 6, must have reached the Lake Nipissing district just before blackberries were entirely ripe, but Radisson and Groseilliers, if they started west in the middle of June, would have found very green blackberries when they reached that section.

Radisson states that on this voyage they made almost a complete circuit of Lake Huron, soon passing the place where the Jesuit missions among the Hurons had been, and that afterward they came to a large island where they found some Hurons. generally asserted that this island is Grand Manitoulin. But to go from the northeastern coast of Michigan to that island would be dangerous, the distance between the nearest points being about forty miles across open water, more than a day's journey in a canoe; and besides, not only was Grand Manitoulin out of their way, but they would almost be doubling their tracks by going to Speaking of this island, Radisson says: "You must know that we passed a strait some three leagues beyond that place. wildmen give it a name; it is another lake, but not so bigg as that we passed before." The strait seems to be that of Michilimackinac, and the other lake is apparently Lake Michigan. case the large island must be Bois Blanc, which has a shore line of about thirty-five miles. What makes all this significant is that in 1654 the fugitive Hurons were really in the Michilimackinac country, where Radisson says that he found them.

Our two Frenchmen, like the nameless Frenchmen of 1654–1656, visited the Pottawatamies and the Maskoutens, the latter in the interior of Wisconsin. Radisson and Groseilliers, like the two nameless Frenchmen, were delayed in returning the first spring by the Indians. Their return, likewise, caused great joy in the colony, and salvos of artillery were also fired in their honor from the battlements of Quebec. We have already observed that the whereabouts of Radisson and Groseilliers from 1654 to 1656 can be accounted for in no other way than by making them identical with the two nameless Frenchmen; and, moreover, Radisson and Groseilliers, if they were the two nameless Frenchmen, would have

had a year in which to rest, after their return, as Radisson says that they did.

Radisson himself furnishes a formidable argument against the theory that he and Groseilliers were the two nameless Frenchmen of 1654–1656. In addition to placing the first voyage west immediately before the second western voyage, he states that the former took three years. In another place he says, speaking of this voyage, that two years had elapsed, and that he and Groseilliers would not be able to return to the French settlements for another year. And near the end of his narrative of the voyage he says that it had taken three years and two months. Hence it cannot be, as some writers have tried to make it appear, that he wrote three years by mistake. The voyage of the two nameless Frenchmen took exactly two years.<sup>1</sup>

Radisson wrote his journal in 1665, after he had gone over to the English service; and if, instead of his third voyage's being a fabrication from beginning to end, he and Groseilliers were the two nameless Frenchmen, he added some notes about countries that he had never seen, and lengthened the time that it took to make the voyage so that it would correspond with the additional field that the voyage covered on paper. He contradicts himself as to the time when the first voyage west began, if it really did begin at all; and if he added two months to the beginning of the journey, he would not have hesitated to add a year to the end. His object, whether the first voyage is a fabrication in whole or simply in part, was to get as much prestige as possible in England. His journal was written years before Joliet and Marquette's discovery; hence his story did not spring from their discovery or from a desire to steal their fame.

There are other arguments against the theory that Radisson and Groseilliers were the two nameless Frenchmen of 1654–1656. Radisson says that he had five hundred Indians with him when he returned from his first western voyage; no authority mentions more than three hundred in connection with the two nameless explorers. Radisson does not mention in his journal the great and populous nation of the Illinois, which the nameless Frenchmen described to the Jesuits. Radisson writes that, after arriving at Three Rivers, he led five hundred Indians against the Iroquois, and dispersed them; but the battle is not recorded elsewhere. Radisson says that, in returning to their country, the western Indians had no encounter with the enemy, but the Indians who accompanied the nameless Frenchmen to the French settlements

were attacked by Iroquois upon their return journey, and Father Garreau, who was going west with them, was mortally wounded during the encounter. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the order in which Radisson places his first voyage west, the killing of Father Garreau would have been too old an incident for him to use.

It is impossible to decipher clearly Radisson's account of his third voyage — his first western journey. He mentions Sault Ste. Marie, — of course not by that name, — and he appears to have spent a winter near the mouth of Green Bay, with the Pottawatamies, and another winter with the Christinos near the outlet of Lake Superior. He evidently claims to have gone down the Mississippi River many hundred miles, probably as far as Joliet and Marquette did, for he speaks of going to the river, describing it in unmistakable terms; and he also speaks of going to a country where it never snowed nor froze, where two crops were raised in one year, where he heard of Spanish ships upon salt water (the Gulf of Mexico), and where he saw articles that the Indians had, including beads, which indicated the presence of Spaniards at no great distance. How he approached the Mississippi is very far from being plain.

The writer thinks that it is possible that Radisson and Groseilliers were the two nameless Frenchmen of 1654–1656, but that, even if they were, Radisson's narrative of the voyage is virtually worthless; for, as much of it must have been fabricated, none of it can be implicitly believed except so far as the *Jesuit Relations* substantiate it. Radisson's claim to the discovery of the upper Mississippi River must be rejected on account of this uncertainty.

There is a dispute as to the route that Radisson and Groseilliers took in going west. M. Dionne of Quebec, as well as M. Prud'homme of Manitoba,¹ assert that they went by way of lakes Ontario and Erie, passing Niagara Falls and Detroit, on their second voyage west. This is a mistake, due to Radisson's exaggerated description of a waterfall that they passed, and which these writers thought to have been Niagara Falls. The actual route was the one that Jean Nicolet had taken years before,²—up the Ottawa, thence to Lake Nipissing, down French River to Georgian Bay, and thence west. The river of the meadows which Radisson mentions is the Ottawa River, which, between the time when it ceased to be known as the Grand River of the Algonquins—the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Historical Notes on the Life of P. E. Radisson, by L. A. Prud'homme, St. Boniface, Manitoba, — a most excellent epitome of Radisson's narratives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 1634, when he went up the Fox River, Wisconsin, and visited the Maskoutens.

name that Champlain and Father Sagard gave it — and the time when it received its present name, was known as the River of the Prairies, which word in French means about the same as meadows. Radisson's lake of the castors is Lake Nipissing, and the name that he gave it was derived either from the fact that the Amikoue (Castor or Beaver) Indians lived in that region, or from there having been at one time an abundance of castors in the lake. The river of the sorcerers, as Radisson calls it, is, of course, French River, along which dwelt the Nipissing Indians, who were called Sorcerers by the French. Radisson's "first great lake" is Lake Huron.

Radisson and Groseilliers were certainly two of the most enterprising and intrepid explorers that ever set out from New France, the home of the voyageur and of the coureur des bois. Radisson's false statements about their first voyage, while they materially impair his personal reputation, cannot greatly lessen their fame as explorers. They were the first white men to reach Lake Superior; they were the first explorers of northwestern Wisconsin and of Minnesota, and perhaps the pioneer explorers, by an inland route, of Hudson Bay. They were the founders of the great Hudson Bay Company, which fact alone makes them worthy of a permanent place in history.

HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL.